[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
● 343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a R lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

Wai
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in area where there is a large bench for sleeping. There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the roof and often in front too. Here sit the women while they work. If there are two families to a house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel as in other kampongs. The church to which everyone here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are standard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue and black mostly. The designs are even poorer than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used for men and for women. They say that a cloth takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women, have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wai

614 When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and attended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
●[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang /usually Ama Kottang/ which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

We

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
●343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

Wa

614 796 241 343 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and members present. All of this is done in order to make the rice in the fields perfect. The other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 789 342 614 823 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones which are in front of the houses of all suku and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Leloba and have not been replaced, but most of them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamië, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]